

## Message Text

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TO ALL AFRICAN DIPLOMATIC POSTS PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY BONN PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY CARACAS PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY KUWAIT PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY  
USLO PEKING PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE PRIORITY  
USMISSION GENEVA PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY BISSAU POUCH  
AMEMBASSY NOUAKCHOTT POUCH  
XMT AMEMBASSY BISSAU  
AMEMBASSY NOUAKCHOTT

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TAGS: PORG, SF, WA

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SUBJECT: NAMIBIA: STATEMENT BY AMBASSADOR MCHENRY AT  
MAY 2 UNGA SESSION

FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF STATEMENT DELIVERED BY AMBASSADOR  
MCHENRY AT MAY 2 SESSION OF UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY:

BEGIN TEXT: MR. PRESIDENT: THE NEED FOR A SPECIAL SESSION  
OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY ON NAMIBIA WAS FIRST BROACHED LAST  
SUMMER. THE SPECIAL SESSION IS PART OF THE EFFORT, WAGED  
ON MANY FRONTS, BY ALL MEMBERS OF THE UNITED NATIONS TO

ACHIEVE THE RESOLUTION OF THE NAMIBIAN QUESTION WHICH HAS EVADED THE UNITED NATIONS SINCE ITS FOUNDING. THE PLANNERS OF THIS SPECIAL SESSION WERE AWARE THAT IN ADDITION TO THEIR EFFORTS, THE GOVERNMENTS OF CANADA, THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY, FRANCE, THE UNITED KINGDOM AND MY OWN COUNTRY, THE UNITED STATES, WERE ALSO EMBARKED ON AN INITIATIVE, UNPRECEDENTED IN THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED NATIONS, TO SEE IF THROUGH INTENSIVE COOPERATIVE EFFORT THEY MIGHT DEVELOP A BASIS FOR A SETTLEMENT OF THE NAMIBIAN QUESTION CONSISTENT WITH UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 385. IN THE SUMMER OF 1977, WE COULD ONLY HOPE THAT OUR EFFORTS MIGHT MEET WITH SUCCESS BUT WE HAD NO ASSURANCE.

THIS MEETING OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY IN SPECIAL SESSION OCCURS AT A TIME WHEN OUR OWN INITIATIVE HAS REACHED AN IMPORTANT AND PERHAPS DECISIVE STAGE FOR THE PEOPLE OF NAMIBIA, FOR THE PEOPLE OF THE REGION OF SOUTHERN AFRICA AND FOR THE UNITED NATIONS. THIS COINCIDENCE HAVING OCCURRED, WE THOUGHT IT IMPORTANT THAT THE ASSEMBLY ACT IN THE FULL KNOWLEDGE AND UNDERSTANDING OF THE DETAILS OF OUR WORK. THEREFORE, BEGINNING WITH THE STATEMENT BY THE FOREIGN MINISTER OF CANADA, THE FIVE GOVERNMENTS HAVE UNCLASSIFIED

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SOUGHT TO EXPLAIN OUR EFFORTS AS CLEARLY AS POSSIBLE. WE HAVE DONE SO, NOT WITH THE OBJECTIVE OF DETRACTING FROM THE WORK OF THIS SPECIAL SESSION, BUT RATHER IN AN EFFORT TO ENRICH, TO ROUND OUT, AND TO MAKE OUR DISCUSSION MORE REALISTIC. THE PEOPLE OF NAMIBIA DESPERATELY WANT THEIR OWN GOVERNMENT, NOT COMPETITION AMONG THOSE OF US WHO SHARE A SIMILAR OBJECTIVE TO SEE WHO HAS THE BEST SOLUTION OR WHOSE POLITICAL OR SOCIAL IDEOLOGY IS BEST.

WE HAVE NOT SOUGHT NOR DO WE SEEK ACTION BY THE ASSEMBLY ON THE PROPOSAL WHICH WE HAVE PLACED BEFORE THE SECURITY COUNCIL. WE RECOGNIZE THAT THE SECURITY COUNCIL IS THE BODY WHICH MUST ACT ON OUR PROPOSAL. ON THE OTHER HAND, WE ARE MINDFUL OF THE CRUCIAL ROLE WHICH THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY AND OTHER ORGANS OF THE UNITED NATIONS MUST PLAY IN ANY RESOLUTION TO THE NAMIBIA QUESTION.

AFTER A WEEK OF DEBATE, MOST OF THE ISSUES RELATING TO THE CURRENT SITUATION IN NAMIBIA HAVE ALREADY BEEN RAISED IN THIS ASSEMBLY. MY COLLEAGUES HAVE ALREADY RESPONDED TO MOST OF THE QUESTIONS REGARDING THE INITIATIVE OF THE FIVE. IN MY REMARKS TODAY, THEREFORE, I DO NOT WISH TO ADDRESS THE SUBSTANCE OF THE ISSUES BEFORE US, BUT TO DESCRIBE THE FACTORS WHICH WE BELIEVE SHOULD GUIDE US IN OUR CONSIDERATIONS.

I WISH TO STATE, HOWEVER, THAT THE FIVE GOVERNMENTS STAND

READY TO PROVIDE ANY ADDITIONAL INFORMATION WHICH MEMBERS OF THIS ASSEMBLY MIGHT WISH. IN ADDITION, WE REMAIN READY TO HOLD ADDITIONAL DISCUSSIONS WITH SWAPO IN ORDER TO DISCUSS FURTHER SOME OF THE CONCERNS RAISED IN THEIR COMMUNICATIONS TO US LAST WEEK AND IN THEIR STATEMENTS BEFORE THE ASSEMBLY. TODAY, IN RESPONSE TO A PROPOSAL OF SWAPO, WE HAVE FORMALLY COMMUNICATED TO THEM OUR WILLINGNESS TO MEET WITH A REPRESENTATIVE GROUP FROM SWAPO, INCLUDING THOSE WHO MAY JOIN THEM FROM LUSAKA, STARTING UNCLASSIFIED

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FRIDAY OF THIS WEEK. WE HOPE THOSE DISCUSSIONS WILL PROVIDE A FURTHER OPPORTUNITY FOR THIS IMPORTANT GROUP OF NAMIBIANS TO ENGAGE IN AN OBJECTIVE AND SEARCHING

ANALYSIS OF THE ISSUES; TO FURTHER CLARIFY THOSE PROVISIONS ABOUT WHICH UNCERTAINTY EXISTS; AND IN THE END, FOR US TO ALLAY SOME OF THE CONCERNS WHICH THEY HAVE EXPRESSED ABOUT THE PROVISIONS OF THE PROPOSAL WHICH WE INTEND TO PUT BEFORE THE SECURITY COUNCIL FOR ITS CONSIDERATION.

WE HAVE LISTENED CAREFULLY TO THE COMMENTS MADE DURING THIS DEBATE, ALERT TO ANY SUGGESTIONS OR PROPOSALS THAT WE HAVE NOT ALREADY WEIGHED IN THE COURSE OF OUR YEAR LONG DISCUSSIONS WITH ALL CONCERNED ON THE NAMIBIAN QUESTION. IT WILL COME AS NO SURPRISE TO ANY OF YOU HERE IF I SAY THAT WE HAVE HEARD NO NEW ISSUES AND NO NEW PROPOSAL WHICH HAD NOT ALREADY BEEN RAISED BY THE PARTIES AND INTERESTED GROUPS AND CONSIDERED BY US DURING THE COURSE OF THE LAST YEAR. BUT THE DIFFICULT TASK BEFORE US IS NOT THE IDENTIFICATION OF THE ISSUES BUT THE DEVELOPMENT OF A PRACTICAL MEANS OF RECONCILING DIFFERING AND FREQUENTLY CONFLICTING POSITIONS.

WE WOULD BE THE FIRST TO STATE THAT THE PROPOSALS PRESENTED BY THE FIVE ARE NOT PERFECT AND THAT THEY DO NOT IN EVERY RESPECT MEET THE MAXIMUM OR EVEN MINIMUM DEMANDS ORIGINALLY PUT FORTH BY THE PARTIES. IN THE END, WE FOUND IT NECESSARY TO MAKE A DETERMINED EFFORT TO BRIDGE THE REMAINING, AND SOMETIMES SUBSTANTIAL GAPS BETWEEN THE PARTIES AND WHICH PROVIDED A FAIR AND EQUITABLE BASIS FOR A SETTLEMENT. IN NO INSTANCE, HOWEVER, HAVE WE DEPARTED FROM THE PRINCIPLES LAID DOWN IN RESOLUTION 385. UNCLASSIFIED

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WE DO SUGGEST, HOWEVER, THAT IN THEIR CURRENT FORMS THE PROPOSALS PROVIDE THE BEST AVAILABLE FRAMEWORK FOR A SETTLEMENT. OTHERS MAY SPECULATE WHETHER UNDER CHANGED CIRCUMSTANCES, MORE TIME FOR EXAMPLE, A MORE FAVORABLE

PROPOSAL COULD BE DEVELOPED WHICH WAS STILL CAPABLE OF BEING ACCEPTABLE TO ALL PARTIES. IN OUR VIEW THE LIKELIHOOD OF DEVELOPING SUCH PROPOSALS WAS NOT GREAT GIVEN THE CONSTRAINTS WITHIN WHICH WE WORKED. ON THE OTHER HAND, WHILE THE POTENTIAL ADVANTAGES WERE NOT SIGNIFICANT THE LIKELY EFFECT OF FAILURE LOOMED LARGE.

IT IS OUR HOPE THAT THE PROPOSALS WILL BE CONSIDERED AS A WHOLE, NOT IN THEIR PARTS. IT WOULD BE A MISTAKE TO SINGLE OUT THOSE ASPECTS WHICH MAY NOT FULLY MEET A DESIRED OBJECTIVE OR LANGUAGE DESCRIPTION WHILE IGNORING THOSE ASPECTS OF THE PROPOSAL INTENDED TO PROVIDE NECESSARY BALANCE. IT HAS ALWAYS BEEN OUR HOPE THAT THE PARTIES WILL WEIGH CAREFULLY ALL ASPECTS OF THE PROPOSAL AND DECIDE THAT ON BALANCE THEY REPRESENT THE BEST THAT

CAN BE DONE UNDER THE CIRCUMSTANCES.

OUR CONSIDERATIONS HERE DO NOT TAKE PLACE IN A VACUUM. IN RECENT WEEKS THE CYCLE OF REPRESSION, VIOLENCE AND THE RESULTING BITTERNESS AND DISTRUST HAS CONTINUED AT A DISTURBING PACE. THE LEVEL OF FIGHTING ALONG NAMIBIA'S BORDERS HAS INCREASED MARKEDLY AND FROM ALL INDICATIONS IT WILL INCREASE MORE. THERE IS AN INCREASING TENDENCY TO RESOLVE DIFFERENCES WITHIN THE TERRITORY THROUGH THE BARREL OF THE GUN RATHER THAN THROUGH DEMOCRATIC PROCESS. SCORES HAVE BEEN KILLED. IN ADDITION, AT THE SAME TIME THAT THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT IS COMMENDABLY ENGAGED IN DISCUSSIONS WHICH MIGHT LEAD TO A PEACEFUL RESOLUTION, IT HAS ONCE AGAIN RESORTED TO THE DEPLORABLE PRACTICE OF POLITICALLY BASED ARRESTS WITHOUT CHARGE OR TRIAL SO THAT TODAY VIRTUALLY THE ENTIRE LEADERSHIP OF SWAPO IN NAMIBIA

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IS BEING DETAINED.

IT IS OF LITTLE PRACTICAL VALUE TO ENGAGE IN THE STERILE ARGUMENTS OVER WHICH PARTY SHOULD FIRST CEASE ITS ACTIONS. WE CAN AND SHOULD CALL UPON ALL PARTIES TO EXERCISE RESTRAINT AND TO GIVE THE FORCES OF PEACE A CHANCE. HOWEVER, IT IS CLEAR THAT THE CYCLE OF REPRESSION AND VIOLENCE, VIOLENCE AND REPRESSION AND THE INEVITABLE HATRED TO WHICH THEY GIVE BIRTH WILL NOT END UNTIL A COMPREHENSIVE RESOLUTION IS FOUND. WE IN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY MUST REDOUBLE OUR EFFORTS TO FIND A SOLUTION IF WE ARE TO AVERT THE ADDITION OF FURTHER COMPLEXITIES TO AN ALREADY COMPLEX TASK.

AS WE ARE AMONG THE FIRST TO ADMIT THAT OUR PROPOSALS ARE NOT PERFECT; WE ARE ALSO AMONG THE FIRST TO ADMIT THAT THERE ARE INHERENT RISKS IN THESE PROPOSALS AND INDEED IN ANY PROPOSALS WHICH PROVIDE A PRACTICAL PATH TO AGREE-

MENT.

BUT NO SOLUTION IS FAILSAFE. WE CAN ONLY MINIMIZE THE POSSIBILITIES OF FAILURE BY ENSURING THAT THE NECESSARY SAFEGUARDS ARE AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE PROPOSALS. THAT, WE BELIEVE WE HAVE DONE. IT IS OUR VIEW THAT ONCE THESE CHANGES TAKE PLACE, THE PROCESS OF NAMIBIAN INDEPENDENCE UNDER INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTABLE CONDITIONS WILL PROCEED TO ITS INEVITABLE CONCLUSION WHATEVER RESERVATIONS OR DESIRED OUTCOMES THE PARTIES CURRENTLY HARBOR. CERTAINLY, A TERRITORY FREE OF SOUTH AFRICAN MILITARY FORCES AND WITH SUBSTANTIAL UNITED NATIONS CIVILIAN AND MILITARY PRESENCE PROVIDES A BETTER OPPORTUNITY THAN AT PRESENT TO ACCOMPLISH OUR GOALS.

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IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS, THE PARTIES MUST NOT ONLY CONSIDER THE PROPOSALS BEFORE US; THEY MUST ALSO CONSIDER THE ALTERNATIVES. THEY MUST CONSIDER THE ALTERNATIVES, NOT IN THE BRAVADO OF REVOLUTIONARY AND IDEOLOGICAL SLOGANEERING, BUT IN THE HARSH LIGHT OF PRACTICAL POLITICAL REALITIES-- IN THE LIGHT OF 30 YEARS OF RESOLUTIONS WHICH HAVE YET TO REMOVE SOUTH AFRICA'S NOW ILLEGAL CONTROL OVER THE TERRITORY.

THE ALTERNATIVES ARE CLEAR. WE CAN CONTINUE WITH THE CURRENT SITUATION, CONTENT TO PASS PAPER RESOLUTIONS WHILE SOUTH AFRICA EFFECTIVELY RETAINS CONTROL OF THE TERRITORY AND WHILE THE CYCLE OF REPRESSION AND VIOLENCE CONTINUES UNABATED. THAT IS THE PATH ABOUT WHICH THERE CAN BE NO ILLUSIONS OR UNCERTAINTIES. IT IS THE PATH OF PROLONGED VIOLENCE, OF INCREASED HATRED, AND OF UNACCEPTABLE DELAY IN THE ABILITY OF THE PEOPLE OF NAMIBIA TO GOVERN THEMSELVES AND TO CHART THEIR OWN COURSE FOR THE FUTURE.

THE ALTERNATIVE WHICH WE HAVE PROPOSED HAS THE CLEAR POSSIBILITY OF ENDING THE CYCLE OF REPRESSION AND VIOLENCE AND OF OBTAINING NAMIBIA'S INDEPENDENCE PEACEFULLY AND IN THE NEAR FUTURE. WHAT IS IN QUESTION IS NOT NAMIBIA'S INDEPENDENCE, BUT THE MODALITIES OF TRANSITION TO INDEPENDENCE. THE PROPOSALS PROVIDE THE FIRST OPPORTUNITY TO PLACE EXPLICIT CONTROLS ON THE CURRENTLY UNCHECKED SOUTH AFRICAN ADMINISTRATION OF THE TERRITORY.

THERE IS AN UNDERSTANDABLE CONCERN AMONG NAMIBIANS NOT TO RUSH INTO AGREEMENTS WHICH IN THE END MIGHT SIMPLY ADD AN INTERNATIONAL STAMP OF APPROVAL TO AN UNJUST SYSTEM. THEIR SUSPICION AND CAUTION IS UNDERSTANDABLE; FOR IT IS BORN OUT OF THEIR OWN EXPERIENCE. IT IS OUR HOPE THAT THAT CAUTION WILL LEAD TO A CAREFUL EXAMINATION OF OUR PROPOSAL. BUT IT IS EQUALLY OUR HOPE THAT THE PEOPLE OF

NAMIBIA HAVE NOT AND WILL NOT BECOME CAPTIVES OF THEIR  
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EXPERIENCE AND WILL NOT SO ACT THAT THIS OPPORTUNITY TO  
RESOLVE THE NAMIBIAN QUESTION AT AN EARLY DATE AND WITHOUT  
FURTHER CONFLICT SLIPS PAST, PERHAPS NOT TO REOCCUR FOR  
SOME TIME TO COME.

MR. PRESIDENT, THE UNITED NATIONS AND EACH MEMBER OF OUR  
ORGANIZATION BEAR A SPECIAL RESPONSIBILITY AT THIS TIME.  
THERE IS A NEED TO RESOLVE THE REMAINING ISSUES IN  
SOUTHERN AFRICA SO THAT THE PEOPLE OF THE REGION CAN GET  
ON WITH THE TASKS OF DEVELOPMENT AND THUS THEMSELVES MEET  
THE NEEDS OF THEIR PEOPLE. A SETTLEMENT OF THE NAMIBIAN  
QUESTION WOULD HAVE A SALUTARY EFFECT ON THE OTHER PROB-  
LEMS OF SOUTHERN AFRICA.

UNLIKE RHODESIA, NAMIBIA IS A DIRECT RESPONSIBILITY OF  
THE UNITED NATIONS. IT IS OUR OBLIGATION TO ENSURE THAT  
THE PEOPLE OF NAMIBIA ACHIEVE THEIR INDEPENDENCE. THAT  
IS OUR PRIMARY TASK. IT CANNOT BE SUBORDINATED TO  
IDEOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES, OR TO ANY SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP  
WHICH ANY OF US MAY HOPE TO HAVE WITH AN INDEPENDENT  
NAMIBIA.

FINALLY, MR. PRESIDENT, I WISH TO TOUCH ON WHAT NO DOUBT  
IS THE MOST IMPORTANT CONSIDERATION OF ALL AS WE CONSIDER  
HOW TO MOVE FORWARD TOWARD SETTLEMENT--HOW TO ACCEPT THE  
RISKS, SEIZE THE OPPORTUNITIES BEFORE US.

THIS IS THE ELUSIVE QUESTION OF FAITH, OF BELIEF IN THE  
MOTIVATIONS AND THE COMMITMENT OF ALL CONCERNED. THE  
LONG AND FREQUENTLY FRUSTRATING EFFORT OF THE FIVE HAS  
ENCOUNTERED THIS QUESTION AT EVERY TURN. WE HAVE  
ATTEMPTED TO BE FAITHFUL IN OUR PERSEVERANCE, IN OUR  
ATTEMPT TO RETAIN A BALANCED APPROACH TO ALL ASPECTS OF  
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THE PROBLEM, AND IN THE OPENNESS WITH WHICH WE HAVE LAID  
OUT THE ISSUES FOR THE PARTIES AND FOR THIS ASSEMBLY.  
WE WANT SETTLEMENT OF THE NAMIBIAN QUESTION NOW WITHIN  
THE AGREED TERMS OF SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 385.

I WISH TO REAFFIRM TO THE MEMBERS OF THE UNITED NATIONS,  
MR. PRESIDENT, THAT MY GOVERNMENT IS COMMITTED TO THIS  
GOAL--TO AN INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTABLE SETTLEMENT OF THE  
NAMIBIAN QUESTION. WE ACCEPT AND SUPPORT THE ASPIRATIONS  
OF THE NAMIBIAN PEOPLE. WE ARE COMMITTED TO THIS OBJEC-  
TIVE AND THE EFFORT IN WHICH WE ARE ENGAGED AS A MAJOR  
UNDERTAKING OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT. WE WILL SEE

THE EFFORT THROUGH TO THE END WE ALL SEEK. END TEXT.

CHRISTOPHER

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